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New York Edition

WAR & PEACE

U.S. facing a choice: Go-it-alone to war, or sit down to talk peace

By Tabitha Petran

AMERICAN prestige in international relations last week had fallen to its lowest point within memory. The basic reason was, as **CBS**'s Howard K. Smith suggested (8/30), Washington's rejection of "every proposal for settlement," its failure to explore "freshly opened channels to peace." This rigidity had set in at a time, Lord Beaverbrook's London **Daily Express** told its 4,000,000 readers, when "the desire for a return of settled conditions has become a passion in every land."

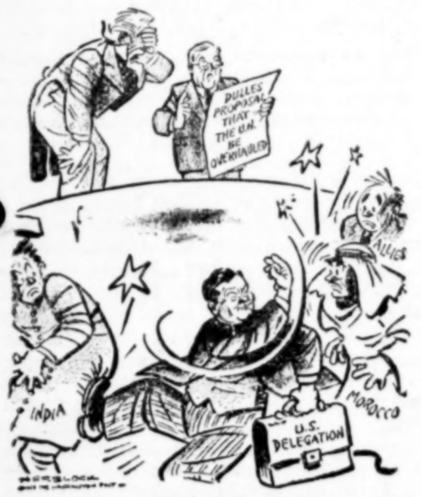
The foundering of Washington's effort to maintain policies and objectives totally at variance with today's political-military realities could no longer be wholly concealed even in the U.S. It produced what Bill Costello (**CBS**, 8/30) called "a mood of self-examination and breast-beating." Even some cold war apostles were alarmed.

UNREALITY THE KEY: Leaders of Americans for Democratic Action—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and James E. Doyle—warned that U.S. foreign policy is in "a state of grave crisis." Schlesinger, a former Adlai Stevenson brain-truster, attributed its "hopeless confusion" to the

> . . . persistence somewhere on the fringes of consciousness [of the] China Lobby's dream that . . . [we can] clean out the Peking gang in the next year or two.

He cautiously suggested China be seated in the UN to show "that we are not out to start a Third World War in China" (N. Y. **Post**, 8/30).

Concluding a European tour, Stewart Alsop (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, 8/28) declared "the frighteningly shaky condition" of the Western coalition was due to Europe's fears "of an American foreign policy so rigid and inflexible, so hag-ridden by dogma, as to render war inevitable." He warned that if U.S. policy is not changed, its "whole structure . . . will come crashing about our ears."


DULLES PROPOSAL THAT THE U.N. BE OVERHAULED
ALLIES
INDIA
MOROCCO
U.S. DELEGATION

Herblock in Washington Post
"NICE TIMING, FOSTER"

LET'S GO HOME: These mounting criticisms, however, were directed mainly at Republican "methods," and were based on the same cold war premises which produced the present debacle.

Only rarely was a note of near-sanity sounded. Convinced that "the growing anti-Americanism" in W. Europe is a "greater peril than Soviet Russia," William Philip Simms, former Scripps Howard foreign editor, demanded a "new policy." He suggested (San Francisco **News**, 8/10) that the U.S. assume a "third force" role, withdraw its troops, "missions, commissions, authorities and whatnot" from Europe, and concluded: "For a long time now, Europe has been saying to us: 'Go home!' Well, let's go!"

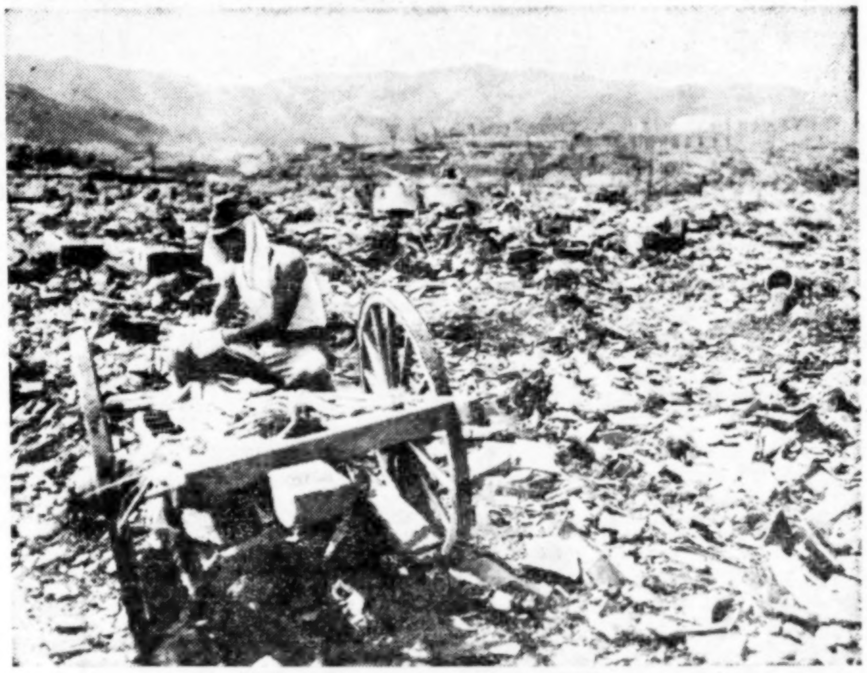
STIFF IN THE JOINTS: The Eisenhower Administration, however, heeded neither entreaties nor criticism. The White House's approach to the great issue of peace or war reminded Marquis Childs (N. Y. **Post**, 8/28) of "at times a confession of something approaching paralysis." Yet in what has been called the "intermission period"—following the Korean truce and before the Joint Chiefs of Staff conclude their "new look" at U.S. strategic policy—Washington's policy had hardened into these lines:

- **Greater rigidity.** Stewart Alsop said (8/31):

> The new men in Washington, far from taking a new look at our situation, seem more and more rigidly committed to policies . . . originated . . . under different circumstances than those that now exist.

- **Bigger Threats.** Policy declarations and the stand on Korea added up to a threat of global war against the socialist world if any people outside that sphere try to effect social change. (This, by Washington's definition, is "Soviet aggression.")
- **Intensified "psychological war."** Unable at the present time to back up

(Continued on Page 6)



V-J DAY, 1945, WAS SEPT. 2

And this was Nagasaki in September, 1945, a little over a month after the second American A-Bomb hit Japan. To understand the full significance—and futility—of such adventures, see the article below.

ATOMIC ENERGY AND WORLD PEACE—II

The strategy of A-war — and the facts

By Dr. Philip Morrison

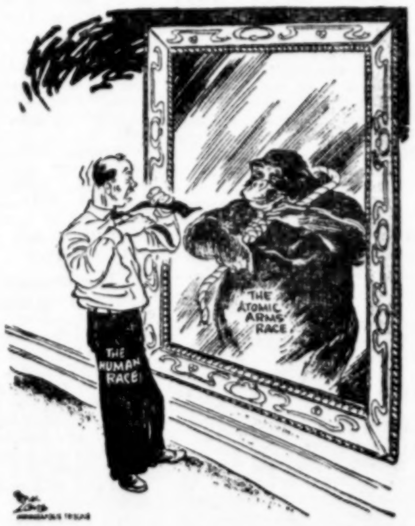
Noted physicist of Ithaca, N. Y.

I have walked the ruined streets of Hiroshima. I have seen the leaky railroad shed where the thousands of the radiation sick were lying on the wet concrete for a month, waiting to die. I know what bombs and bombing mean in human terms. Nevertheless, I know that one must view even this most irrational and terrible of human activities, atomic war, with the calm eye of reason, if it is to be prevented from bringing to wretchedness the world's great cities. Let us then discuss the cold numbers and pitiless arguments of the strategist; they will be, in the end, a way to peace.

AT LEAST the two greatest powers possess stocks of A-bombs, and have tested early versions of the H-bomb. The A-bomb can wreck and maim a city district; the H-bomb a whole country. How can they be used? What is the meaning of their existence in the world of political power?

TARGETS: The bombs must be near a point of concentration of human wealth, and of men and women, if their force is to be effective. They will always be expensive and relatively few, though their number grows every day. This means they cannot be used lightly, or against uncertain or inexpensive targets. The largest explosions will seek the largest and costliest targets. These targets are cities, the centers of production and population. The whole idea of the use of the A-bomb, and more surely of the H-bomb, is the idea of Hiroshima.

If this is true, then the number of useful A-bombs tends to be limited by the number of targets. It is of no use, as Gordon Dean, recent head of the Atomic Energy Commission said, to have enough bombs to blow up the enemy twice over. Once is enough. Of course, most will not find their targets, and other uses will always be seen. But by and large the first 1,000 bombs of a stockpile are more important than the 20th thousand (paraphrasing J. R. Oppenheimer, **Foreign Affairs**, June 1953).



Minneapolis Tribune
Recognize your own reflection?

DELIVERY: Given the stockpile, what becomes crucial is its delivery. The A-bomb is the weapon designed for the long-range bomber. America has put more money since 1950 into the Strategic Air Command (SAC) than into the Korean war. We have built a network of air bases around the world, from icy Thule beyond the Arctic Circle in Greenland, to the rocky plains of Morocco and the deserts of Tripoli and Arabia.

We have SAC bases in Britain, Germany, Japan, Okinawa, the Azores, Alaska and the Aleutians. They ring the world. They have more than once meant serious diplomatic and political commitments. They cost many billions, spent in haste and fear; and, as the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee found in 1952, often in great waste born of these attitudes.

We now have four types of bombers for the delivery job: the obsolescent piston B-50; the semi-jet giant B-36; the B-47, a fast jet bomber of medium range, suitable for use from our ring of overseas bases; and the up-coming big jet, the B-52—fast but not of the longest range.

THE COMPARISON: The U.S.S.R., which spends relatively much less on strategic aircraft than do we (and always has) is now equipped with a fleet of piston bombers, like our B-50's. It is reported (**American Aviation**, 8/53) also to be building a large fleet of medium-range fast jets like our B-52. We seem to spend about half our plane money for long-range bombers; Russia spends less than 1/10th its air funds for that type of air war.

What will the bombers do? They propose to fly without warning across sea or ice or land, so that one country can strike a fearful blow against another from high in the air, without marching armies, on some dark and stormy night. It can be done. But it is not easy. The fighter-interceptor planes, and especially the guided missile, without pilots, can be depended on more and more to destroy the bomber in the air. Witness even Korea, where our B-29's no longer flew by day against the MIG-15. Some will get through any scheme of defense, but a big well-prepared country can be expected to defend itself well against the bomb and the bomber.

STRATEGY OF NEUTRALITY: Big-area countries, like the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., are greatly helped by space.

(Continued on Page 7)

The first-hand FACTS about New China!

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DOES YOUR SUB NEED RENEWING?

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Vol. 5, No. 46 178 SEPTEMBER 7, 1953

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.."

— JOHN MILTON

REPORT TO READERS

Labor Day 1953

LABOR DAY, 1953, may not be a day to celebrate gains for the worker, farmer and consumer; but it is as good a day as any to take the full measure of Public Enemy No. 1—and to begin to figure out the best way to lick him.

Public Enemy No. 1 is the same old monopoly-capital villain, but he goes under many aliases: McCarthyism, Jennerism, anti-communism, anti-New Dealism, reaction, racism, profiteering, union-buster, 5 per center, 100 per center, Klan, Legion, et al.

If all the people could be made to recognize the enemy under all his aliases at once he would be an easy pushover—but he goes under many aliases. McCarthyism, Jennerism, anti-bring this about, and most of us would like to see some results a little sooner.

THE NEW DEAL was the last great majority expression in the United States for a positive program of licking Public Enemy No. 1, and we believe that the aspirations which built the New Deal are by no means dead. They remain to be fulfilled.

The Fair Deal—as the progressives of '48 correctly foresaw—turned out to be a betrayal of the New Deal. It did as much as it could to dismantle the New Deal, then turned the job over to the real professionals in '52.

The Jenner Committee today, with its wholesale smearing of the men and women of the Roosevelt administration, is carrying on the job started by the Truman administration with the frame-up of Alger Hiss.

Atty.-Gen. Brownell—in a series of moves which make him appear an automaton run by push-button—is planning to crush labor under the Butler bill (which is Taft-Hartley with real vengeance) and has already moved to intimidate if not to disbar any lawyer offering to defend a victim of oppression. He has listed every labor or civil rights defense committee of any consequence as subversive. Handcuffs are all around the scene.

WE BELIEVE that the best defense in this situation is a positive attack—a fight for the restoration of the Wagner Act, a fight for FEPC, for amnesty for all political victims, for flood control and valley development, for farm support—in sum for a return to a fully-developing New Deal program.

Only by a positive fight for a program which fits the stated needs of worker, farmer, consumer, can the American people be rallied to a counter-attack against the destroyers of the New Deal.

We propose to do our level best to mobilize this kind of a fight.

THE EDITORS

THE MAIL BAG

How crazy can you get dept.

KANSAS CITY—(UP)—Former President Truman believes America is headed for World War III unless it assumes its responsibilities and meets the threat of the Russians "with force." Truman expressed his views yesterday before a convention of 1,500 disabled American veterans. . . .

—San Diego (Calif.)
Evening Tribune, Aug. 25.

One-year free sub to winner of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: N. T. Cormier, San Diego.

Flying carpet-bagger

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Dulles went to Korea
Before the war broke out,
Now he's visited Iran too—
Another coincidence, no doubt.

Lawrence Gellert

The PW atrocities

BLOOMINGTON, IND.

When we read the accounts of "atrocities" and treatment of prisoners of war, we should remember several things:

(1) The Chinese and Koreans felt they fought to defend their homes.

(2) Our planes and guns had almost destroyed the country.

(3) Anti-white feeling has grown in Asia for many years and with good reason.

(4) In large part because of western colonialism, the Chinese and Koreans have much less in food and medical supplies than expected by Americans, who have grown up in what to the rest of the world is a "hothouse" environment.

(5) Our air attacks subjected the Chinese and Korean prisoner-of-war areas to difficulties not shared by U. S. prisoner-of-war areas.

We must be appreciative that they apparently did the best they could under the circumstances. For the unavoidable suffering, we must blame those who sent American soldiers into a struggle in which they should not have been.

Dell H. Hymes

Mrs. Bauer's buck

CHICAGO, ILL.

I am just sick about it, but haven't been able to raise my promised dollar this month. I'm 73—my pension check was cut $4 and rent raised $5. I baby-sit, but everybody is away on vacation.

Hope to get some work and that way squeeze in "my buck." Only hope I can keep up my two papers—GUARDIAN and People's World.

Mrs. Louis Bauer

Our wasted land

ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

We are constantly warned by these wolverines in human form of invasion from outside while they themselves lay waste to our land by the frequent and constant atomic blasts which also play havoc with the weather and spread radioactivity in all directions.

I hope the people stir themselves to some positive action against thes crimesters before they turn the world into a blazing inferno.

Anna & Anne Medie

They're still for peace

PALO ALTO, CALIF

The Palo Alto Peace Club has tentatively been listed as subversive by the Attorney General, along with 61 other organizations. Most of the others are unknown to us and we are writing this in hopes that some of their members may read it and will write to us. We would like to know how many of those listed are protesting the "designation" as we are doing. We feel that all who are so doing should be in touch with one another so that if the need arises for court action we might pool resources.

We also ask any GUARDIAN readers who know of our work and believe in it to write letters of protest to Atty. Gen. Brownell, Justice Dept., Washington, D. C.

M. D. Field
Act. Corres. Secy.
P. O. Box 205

Anglo-U. S. Exchange

CHESHIRE, ENGLAND

I should like very much to correspond and exchange progressive newspapers and pamphlets of my country with one of your readers.

Les Partington
9 James St., Birkenhead

Maj. Lafond's vote

L'ANNONCIATION, QUEBEC

GUARDIAN readers who vacationed with us will be interested in learning that Maj. Lafond gathered 166 votes in his first try for Parliament in the last general elections.

He ran in a rural area that had never been contested before by a progressive. He was also hindered, as were all peace candidates, by a semi-police-state administration. Despite these restraining factors he got a vote that is even considered by the opposition as an outstanding one.

Friends of the GUARDIAN

Everybody listening?

WHEATLAND, CALIF.

I received in my mail the little folded bank you sent me a couple of weeks ago for the Buck-of-the-Month. I happened to attend two parties since then. I passed the little bank around and collected pennies, nickels and dimes. It amounts to $5, which I am enclosing. **Lillian Ransome**

A new tongue

NEW YORK, N. Y.

If nothing else, your direct quotation from the President's Seattle speech proves that during his short sojourn at Columbia, Ike learned to speak fluent Gibberish, a language almost as difficult to master as his other principal medium of expression—Hogwash. **V. L.**

Soaking the poor

MARTINS FERRY, O.

Here is the lowdown on the tax reductions we were promised by the Republicans during their campaign less than a year ago. The Wheeling News-Register (Aug. 23) says: "Congress To Tap Last Income Source. Administration To Propose Natl. Sales Tax Measure."

An official of one of Boston's biggest banks remarked not long ago that any more taxes would have to be levied on the low-income groups, because those in the high-income groups just simply couldn't pay any more taxes—the pore sowles.

What William T. Evjue called the "weapon of fear" will be used to prevent anyone from protesting against such a tax measure: the fear of being dubbed communists, haled before the Un-American Activities Committee for a "hearing" at which only committee members will be heard.

I just read in House Document No. 401, entitled "Fascism in Action," that deportation was Mussolini's favorite method for getting rid of people who, he said, were subversive. **George F. Curry**

They want to know

PORTLAND, ORE.

Thank you for getting the supply of **What We Saw in China** to me at Portland. They went fast at the first meeting where they were available. Please send me immediately 50 more copies.

Maud Russell

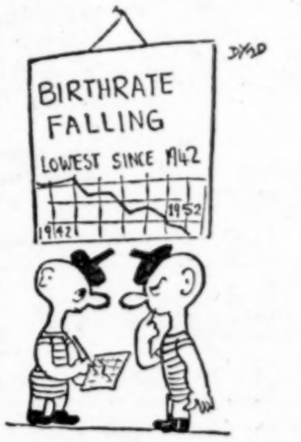
Miss Russell, publisher of the **Far East Reporter**, 103 W. 93d St., N. Y. C., is on a nationwide tour and is finding many eager hands for the GUARDIAN's exclusive report on China by 15 Americans who went there to see for themselves. Have you ordered your copy plus one to pass on to someone else? Minimum order, $1 for two copies. Bulk minimum, 20 for $5. Address China book, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

Monarchy and democracy

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Hopeful as always I looked into my flat purse, with the expectation that its disabilities of old age, poverty and pernicious anemia of money had somehow or other evaporated. Vain hope; however, by scraping the bottom I unearthed the enclosed two dollars.

Damn such a civilization that deliberately campaigns to prostitute intellect! I do not admire monarchy but truth compels me to state that monarchic England across the pond has more democracy than we. Look what we did to the two geniuses—Orson Welles and Charles Chaplin. **W. P. C.**



Dyad, London

BACK TO SCHOOL

"By the time we're 60, there'll be no more doubling up in classes."

Books to give away

SULLIVAN, MO.

Had a big doctor's bill to pay, so I am broke with a library of about 1,400 books to give away to those in the fight against war and fascism. I have Thomas Paine's "The Crisis," 2d edition, 1809 (No. 10 of 500 copies printed); "History of Warfare Between Science and Theology," by Andrew D. White (2 vols., 1899); "History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science," by John W. Draper (1896). Will mail out to anyone sending me postage. **L. K. England**

The camel unswallowed

LIVONIA, MICH.

Grim would be our future were it not for the example of the courageous ones who place integrity before all else regardless of the cost to personal comfort. American history is replete with stories of those who dared to fight back and if the thought-controllers hope to make us into a nation of docile conformers they have a bigger job on their hands than they can possibly imagine.

For 1,800 years the New Testament has been written; yet where is the legislator who has wisdom and practical talent enough to avail himself of the light which it sheds on the science of legislation? Is a democracy such as we know it the last improvement possible in government? Is it not possible to take a step further towards recognizing the rights of Man?

I dare say that millions of loyal Americans agree with Henry Thoreau and with the Great Teacher who was accused of perverting the nation, stirring up the people, and trying to overthrow the government, and it is quite likely that they will demand justice as they learn that it does not pay to "strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."

If the sadists of freedom are allowed to silence the GUARDIAN and its courageous editor it will tend to prove the thesis of the able and alert Dr. Douglas M. Kelley, author of **22 Cells In Nuremberg**. Having served as psychiatrist with the U. S. Army in Germany, his comparison of behavior patterns forced him to conclude that "there are no effective bars in America against the establishment of a nazi-like police state."

An aroused citizenry can prove him to be wrong by recapturing the scriptural and democratic heritage that went into the making of the real America. God will surely bless those Americans who are so motivated. **Clara M. Vincent**

It belongs to us

DEER WOOD, MINN.

I can't pledge you anything, but I am enclosing $1. I have no job, no insurance, no old age pension because I would not put our small farm in escrow. No income until our crops come in and alfalfa hay is ready to cut. This little farm has been our home for 75 years this May. I am in my 80th year. I think I was the first one to introduce the GUARDIAN to this community.

My legs are played out but still I work hard to make a living and will help whenever I can. I have been in the common people's fight for justice for 56 years.

The earth and all its natural resources belong to humanity, not to the profiteering drones of society. The earth is the mother of us all and belongs to us, the toiling masses who create all the wealth in the world. **Frank Engman**

Very complicated

WOODS HOLE, MASS.

Although vacationing for a few weeks at the rather desolate tip of Martha's Vineyard our thoughts are with those getting out our wonderful GUARDIAN weekly "thunderer." We shall lick them yet; things are getting way too complicated for them.

Dora Teitelbaum
Hershel Meyer

WHAT EVERY AMERICAN PARENT SHOULD KNOW

The facts about polio and gamma globulin

By Eugene Gordon

POLIOMYELITIS, a disease of the central nervous system caused by a virus is known also as infantile paralysis, because it first was believed to strike almost entirely at infants and very young children and always to paralyze. Today it is established that the 5-9 age group is most vulnerable and that there is paralysis in only about 50% of all cases. About 25% of all cases reported in the U. S. are above 16 years, and the number of older patients is increasing.

There are three types of polio: spinal, bulbar and spino-bulbar, the last being most serious. Spinal cases involve the nerve cells controlling movements of the body below the neck; bulbar affects the nerve centers in the bulb of the brain controlling breathing, swallowing and circulation. Spino-bulbar is a combination of both. The polio virus—a parasitic organism which flourishes only by invading a living cell—is too small to be positively identified even aided by the electron miscroscope.

Since so much polio is non-paralytic, it is not recognized except in epidemics. But it is all capable of injuring or destroying the cells it feeds on. Thus there is no cure once the nerve cells have been affected. Nevertheless, 50% of all patients recover completely, while 30% recover with only slight weaknesses. Paralysis affects 14%. Some 6% die.

THE MOTOR CELLS: Polio may attack many nerve cells or only a few. Paralysis occurs when all the motor cells controlling a muscle are affected. Weakness results when only a certain number of these cells are affected. It is estimated that for every paralyzed or weakened victim, 100 affected persons show no noticeable symptoms. Scientists for that reason expect to discover and to make use of that protective factor within the person which shields him from paralysis.

The Natl. Foundation for Infantile Paralysis offers this advice for prevention and treatment:

The do's

- Allow children (during the polio season) to play with friends they have been with right along. Keep them away from new people, especially in close daily living.
- Wash hands carefully before eating and always after using the toilet — especially important when polio is around. Keep food clean and covered.
- Watch for signs of sickness, such as headache, fever, sore throat, upset stomach, sore muscles, stiff neck or back, extreme tiredness or nervousness, trouble in breathing or swallowing.
- Put a sick person to bed at once, away from others, and call the doctor. Quick action may lessen crippling.
- Telephone your local chapter of the Natl. Foundation if you need help. Locate through telephone book or health dept. No patient need go without care for lack of money. Your chapter will always pay what you cannot.

The don'ts

- Don't get overtired by hard play, exercise, work or travel. This means men, women and children.
- Don't get chilled. Don't bathe or swim long in cold water or sit around in wet clothes.
- Don't have mouth or throat operations during a polio outbreak.
- Don't use another's towels, dishes, tableware, or the like.
- Don't take your child out of [vacation] camp or playground where there is good health supervision (even when cases of polio occur).

THE ANTIBODIES: Scientists are uncertain how the polio virus—once it enters the alimentary canal through the mouth or nose—travels to the motor nerve cells where it does most damage. They know that in its early stages it may resemble many common illnesses. They know that most adults have had one or more of the childhood diseases—measles, mumps, scarlet fever—and that their blood contains antibodies (the system's invisible watchdogs) against these specific ailments.

Because the blood of most persons contains polio antibodies, 80% of the adult population is known to have had polio in a mild or non-paralytic form. Once created by the body to resist disease, antibodies remain in the blood, protecting against reinfection. Babies are born with the same amount of immunity to polio as possessed by their mothers, but it lasts only from six months to two years. Only as children grow older can they build up their own lasting immunity.

United Nations photo

HYDRO-THERAPIC POLIO TREATMENT DEMONSTRATED IN PARIS

UN's World Health Organization contributed these special bath-tubs

Gamma Globulin

The U. S. Public Health Service has reported 3,116 cases of polio between April 1 and July 5, an increase of 15% over the same period of 1952. As of Aug. 20, however, the service estimated that the total this year "will be substantially below" last year's record total of 57,626.

Some health authorities and physicians believe the drop may be credited to the use of gamma globulin, that is, the third fraction, which remains in the human blood after albumin has been removed for use as whole plasma. This gamma fraction is known to contain antibodies which proved effective when tested on some 55,000 children last October in Texas, Utah and Iowa.

Similar tests have been made elsewhere this year. The N. Y. **Post** (Aug. 24) reported:

> More than 150,000 school children have received gamma globulin shots this summer and health officers in many communities involved believe the incidence of polio has dropped as a result.

CAUTION URGED: The report says the Public Health Service "has started an elaborate research operation to determine how effective GG is in holding down polio" but the findings will not be published until next year. Almost all experts, meanwhile, are cautious. The Foundation has issued several bulletins warning against over-estimating the value of GG.

Immunity induced by gamma globulin lasts approximately five weeks—provided it is given in proper doses based on body weight. A pint of fresh whole human blood produces about 7cc of gamma globulin, enough for a 50-lb. child. If injected at the right time and in the proper amount it may provide some protection against paralysis. Once the virus has left the bloodstream and reached the nerve cells, GG is helpless against polio.

WHO CONTROLS IT: The supply of GG is controlled and allocated by the federal Office of Defense Mobilization. It was collected and turned over by the Red Cross, Defense Dept., and the Foundation. Approximately 1,000,000 doses are available through September, 1953, for some 46,000,000 persons in age groups most susceptible to polio. Pregnant women also are included. Because of the limited supply its allocation is restricted to those who have been in "intimate contact" with polio victims.

Why is gamma globulin so scarce? Because, the Foundation says,

> ". . . neither facilities not equipment for widespread expansion of fractionating plants [where GG is extracted from whole blood] are available, and it would take many months to build and equip plants, even if long-term needs for GG were demonstrated. The existing plants are prepared to work 24 hours a day, seven days a week, but this will not greatly increase the supplies this year. And even these supplies are dependent in part upon sufficient donations of blood."

DOLLARS—NOT DIMES: Asked why GG production is not stepped up, the Foundation says:

> "It is completely impractical to hope it could ever be stepped up to the point where production would meet all demands of the public."

Both the foundation and individual experts agree that a fund made up of voluntary contributions of dimes cannot possibly finance the research necessary to find "the answer" to polio. Gamma globulin, everybody concerned emphasizes, is not that answer.

Dr. William McD. Hammon, who has directed mass tests, declared (**Scientific American, 7/53**) that "the long-sought prevention continues to lie in the future." Observing that GG was a research tool rather than a cure-all for polio, he wrote:

> Public optimism with respect to gamma globulin has risen entirely too high. At best, it is only a passive protection and its effect is temporary, averaging five to eight weeks. Moreover, the basic material from which this protection comes is human blood, a limited commodity. Supplies of gamma globulin have been increased, as the armed forces and civil defense have agreed to extraction of the substance from their plasma (which is not harmed thereby), and commercial biological manufacturers have begun to process gamma globulin from the blood of professional donors and from human afterbirths, a source otherwise wasted. But there is no possibility that we shall ever have enough of the material to come anywhere near protecting the whole susceptible population. . . .

SEARCH GOES ON: He said the use of GG for wholesale experimental immunization is "fantastically spendthrift of a scarce resource," since the natural resistance of most children would protect them.

The search, therefore, goes on for what Dr. Hammon calls "vaccines based on long established principles." Such research requires many millions of dollars rather than dimes. Though our government for the fiscal year 1952-53, for example, allocated $51,685,750 for "military aid" to Latin American governments, in gives nothing to aid in research to fight polio.

Some experts, attempting to quiet public clamor for more gamma globulin, explain that to fractionate blood requires complicated machinery and skilled technicians, that the process is chemically and physically intricate. We solved similar problems to process the A- and H-bombs.

New York City's Deputy Health Commissioner Samuel Frant was quoted as telling Camp Wyandot children and parents that 12 fractionating plants throughout the country, at $1,000,000 each, could supply all the GG needed.

Spreading demand for the temporary immunizer might indicate people's willingness to give blood for that purpose. Such a program would require that the government, in addition to allocating GG, as at present, should also take over its manufacture as a national resource.

Give This Paper
To A Friend
Keep It Moving!

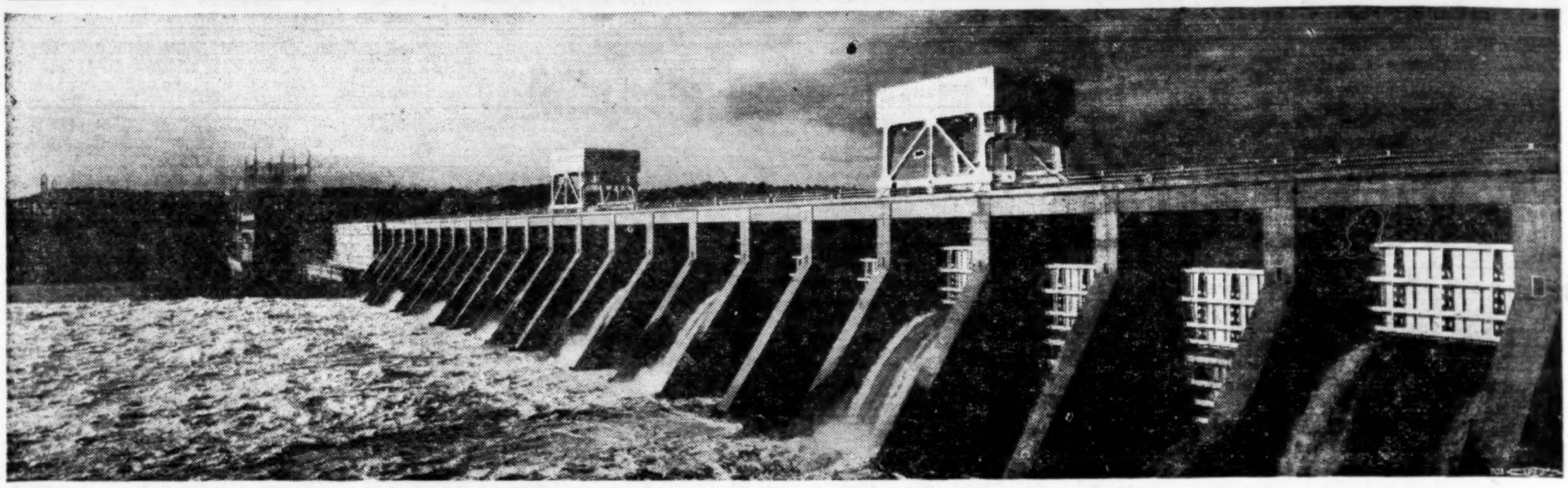
What's the color of coca-cola?

COCA-COLA EXPORT CORP. chairman James A. Farley has assured Walter White, exec. secy. of the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People, that "coke" vending machines in southern cities will be divested of their WHITE and COLORED signs. Enclosing a photo of such jimcrow machines (published in the GUARDIAN 10/16/52), White wrote asking the former Postmaster General to

> . . . imagine what must be the feelings of a Negro veteran returning from fighting communist aggression in Korea to face a jimcrow coca-cola machine.

From Secy. Dulles White received assurances that if, as the press had confirmed, White's book **A Rising Wind** "had indeed been removed" from any overseas library in the McCarthy book purge, this "had no bearing on you. loyalty, patriotism and contribution to racial understanding."

In an earlier letter Dulles agreed with the NAACP's contention that friendship between Negro and white persons is "no indication of disloyalty or of security risk," and promised to take steps "to forbid the asking of such questions in the future" by any government representative "making inquiries with regard to loyalty." The NAACP has also requested FBI head J. Edgar Hoover to issue "another directive . . . to all FBI agents on this matter" in line with pledges made in 1949 that agents asking questions about interracial associations "were acting contrary to instructions."



HERE'S THE STORY OF THE BIGGEST HAUL OF ALL

Eisenhower is handing all public power over to the trust

By Lawrence Emery

BIGGEST lobby in Washington is maintained by the Natl. Assn. of Electric Companies; in 1952 it spent nearly $500,000 to influence legislation. It spent its money wisely in the right places. By last week the Eisenhower administration was ready to give the power trust anything it wants. Up for free-handed looting are all the public power resources of the nation—both those already built and those planned.

As early as April, the House Appropriations Committee spelled out the complete reversal of government public power policy for the past 20 years. It made crippling cuts for all existing federal power projects, banned any new starts with this declaration:

> "Wherever possible, private enterprise shall be taken into partnership to build, own and operate that part of each project that can be handled by private ownership. . . . In all future projects or new starts, which include transmission lines, private enterprise shall be urged to take the initiative in constructing, owning and operating such works before money is made available for federal construction."

GENEROSITY INC.: On Aug. 18, this policy was hardened into the administration's own. Secy. Douglas McKay's Dept. of the Interior, with President Eisenhower's blessings, announced that

> . . . it is recognized that the primary responsibility for supplying power needs of an area rest with the people locally. The responsibility of the Dept. of the Interior is to give leadership and assistance. . . .

The government henceforth is limited, McKay said, to

> . . . those multi-purpose projects with hydroelectric developments which, because of size or complexity, are beyond the means of local, public or private enterprise.

Reaction to the announcement, although limited, was swift and emphatic. Sen. Kefauver (D-Tenn.) called it a return to the "power trust" days of 1933, warned it will be "destructive" to TVA, the Rural Electrification Administration, and all other public power operations. Americans for Democratic Action called it

> . . . a shocking example of this administration's subordination of the public to private interests and said it was open desertion of the principle of development of the nation's resources for the nation's people which was initiated under Republican President Theodore Roosevelt.

GET IN LINE: To the Natl. Rural Electric Cooperative Assn. it was

> . . . an abdication in effect of most of the government's long established power policy of assuming primary responsibility for the rural electrification program.

The association pointed out that more than a half million farm families are still without electricity, warned that the new policy "will mean a longer wait for those not served, and higher prices, and perhaps inadequate supplies for those already served." (Last June 9 columnist Drew Pearson quoted a utility lobbyist to a senator:

> "Our plan is to cripple rural electrification and the farm cooperatives without actually putting them out of business all at once. Then when their service deteriorates, the private power companies will go around and get the farmers to sign petitions asking that the cooperatives be turned over to private enterprise.")

Willard Shelton, Washington columnist for **Labor's Daily**, commented:

> It is a safe bet that, under the official and general policy now stated, McKay's department will never build another multi-purpose dam anywhere, and will continually whittle down the benefits of projects now existing or in process of construction.

ANYBODY SURPRISED? CIO's Political Action Committee said the new policy "threatens within a short time to wreck the entire public power program"; Natl. Farmers Union president James Patton said it "simply puts the private utility lobby's aims and objectives into a wrapper of fraudulent and hypocritical verbiage."

Actually, McKay's announcement surprised no one. Last October Harry Truman, speaking at Montana's huge federally-built Hungry Horse Dam, said:

> "Take a good look! If the Republicans win this election it'll be the last federal dam you'll see in a long time."

On Dec. 22, 1952, the **Wall St. Journal** wrote of McKay that he favors "any good plan to get the government out of the power business." On May 19, 1952, Fred G. Aandahl, McKay's assistant in charge of water and power development, said bluntly: "I am against public power." Eisenhower's appointee to the Federal Power Commission, Jerome K. Kuykendall, has long been well-known as a foe of public power. On July 9 this year former Reclamation Commissioner Michael J. Straus charged that McKay

> ". . . has slaughtered the reclamation program from hell to breakfast by killing off all the public power projects he can."

2 SIDES OF 1 MOUTH: But the Republicans were something less than honest in their campaign speeches on public power. Gen. Eisenhower, campaigning in Memphis, Tenn., in October, said of TVA (see photo above):

> "TVA has served the rural areas well and has created many industries in this section. It has helped conserve natural resources, control floods and promote national defense."

The day before elections, Eisenhower sent a wire to Tennessee editors promising to support the TVA program and to see that "TVA continues to serve and promote the prosperity of that great section of the U.S." These pledges helped win Tennessee for Eisenhower.

But in June this year the President denounced TVA as an example of "creeping socialism"—and he timed his attack carefully: he made the statement a few hours before the House was to vote on the annual appropriation for TVA. The result: damaging cuts in funds asked.

THE NORTHWEST: The fight to save public power is now centered in the Pacific Northwest on two fronts. One involves new McKay-sponsored 20-year contracts which would give a group of private utilities companies a stranglehold on the power generated by the vast Columbia River projects. Sen. Wayne Morse (Ind.-Ore.) told a Portland audience on June 12 that there was "much evidence of collusion" between the administration and the private utilities, and said that McKay's proposed contracts represent "a blueprint, not for electrification of the northwest, but for the electrocution of its economy."

A group of Congressional Democrats headed by Sen. Kefauver have demanded that the new contracts be held up until they can be investigated by Congressional committees. Said Kefauver:

> "It is my further understanding that this contract might serve as a pattern for other areas of the U.S., including the Southwest Power Administration in Texas, Arkansas and Missouri, and the area served by the great and far-sighted TVA. . . . I do not believe Congress will favor a contract whereby a small group of utilities shall have the autocratic right to allocate power produced by the government and paid for by all the taxpayers."

SNAKE RIVER: Biggest fight is against McKay's decision not to oppose the Idaho Power Co. in its application to the Federal Power Commission to build three small dams on the Snake River in place of the long-planned huge federal multi-purpose dam at Hell's Canyon. The big dam would be integrated with the entire Columbia Valley development; in addition to generating far more prime electric power at a far lower cost than the smaller private dams, it would also provide flood control, irrigation, navigation, recreational and other benefits totally lacking in the Idaho Power Co.'s scheme.

Ironically, the Idaho Power Co. is not a local interest, but is incorporated in Maine and backed by huge eastern financial interests.

The Hell's Canyon dam would also make possible the development of vast phosphate deposits in Idaho into cheap fertilizer; much of the phosphate lands are owned by farmer cooperatives. This development, meaning savings of millions of dollars annually in farmers' fertilizer bills, would be cancelled out by the private company's high rates.

THE BATTLE LINE: When McKay abandoned the Hell's Canyon site, Pacific Northwest groups came together under the slogan, "Save the River." The call to the conference said:

> "Only through a spontaneous uprising of the people and organizations of the region can this onslaught be stopped. The sound and widespread benefits of the federal system can yet be saved. The battle line is Hell's Canyon: all the future issues are tied up in this one."

The conference formed the Natl. Hell's Canyon Assn. comprising 56 organizations, including AFL, CIO and independent unions, from five states. A sponsor of the conference described it as a "concerted western uprising against selfish eastern interests." The new association went to Washington to conduct the fight that McKay should have waged before the FPC.

PUBLIC BE DAMNED: It was learned that McKay had suppressed at least three technical reports or studies all favoring federal construction at Hell's Canyon. It was also learned that engineers and others in McKay's department who have been in on Hell's Canyon planning from the start were not available as expert witnesses. At one point counsel for the association said of the FPC hearings:

> ". . . we can reach but one conclusion: the Commission does not want an adversary proceeding, the Commission does not want a full hearing on the relative merits of a high Hell's Canyon dam and three small dams on the Snake River. The Commission does not want the public interest represented."

The FPC's behavior has prompted a demand by Sen. Magnuson (D-Wash.) for an investigation. Washington's other Senator, Henry M. Jackson, has introduced a bill, supported by 16 other senators, to prohibit the FPC from licensing projects in conflict with comprehensive river development or with any water resource development previously approved or authorized by Congress.

NIBLICK NEWS: At present, the FPC hearings are in recess until Sept. 21. The embattled west is carrying the brunt of the fight, but actually the Hell's Canyon issue is of national concern. A recent regional CIO conference of seven western states said:

> "The Idaho Power Co. proposal would be bad for workers, bad for business, bad for the community and bad for the nation. It would benefit only the stockholders of a concern 90% owned by eastern financial interests."

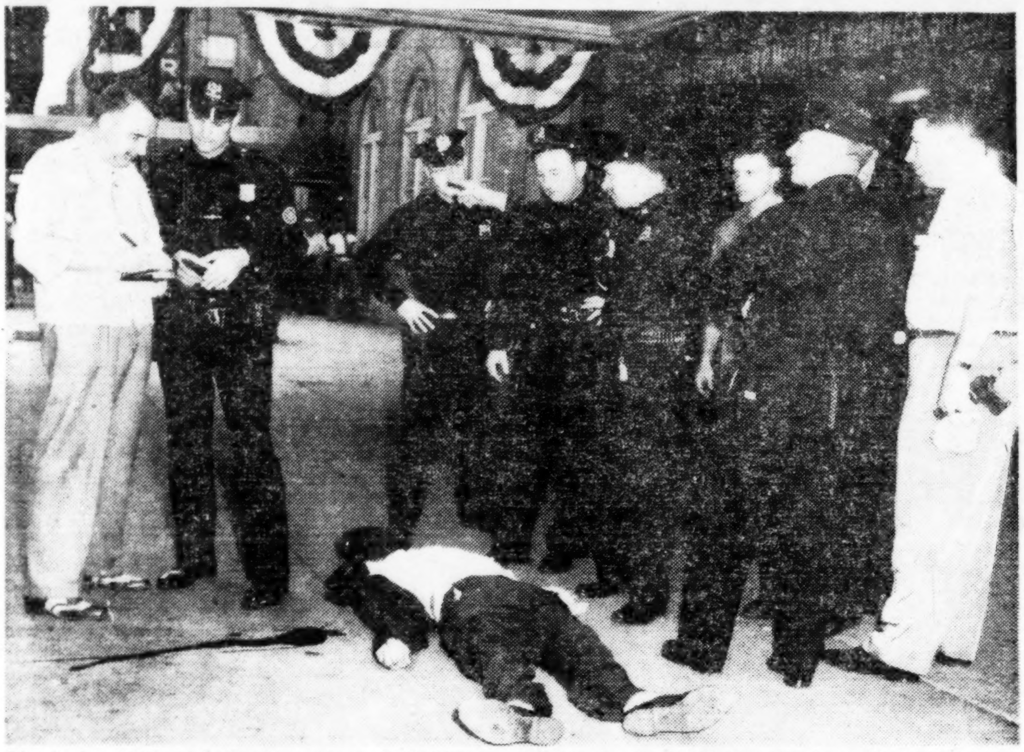
Meanwhile little cards are circulating through the West and Midwest; they pledge membership in the "Never Again Club," list these current gains:

> "Lower farm prices, higher interest rates, difficult home financing, less rural electrification, difficult farm financing, an end to rural phones, an end to cheap power, an end to irrigation, hourly golf news, broken campaign promises."

NEW YORK EDITION

Vol. 5, No. 46 NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 7, 1953

Impellitteri's campaign gets off on a gutter-high level



The body of Edward (Snakes) Ryan, killed by a cop after he had killed union boss Thomas Lewis, lies on a sidewalk. Most embarrassing to the Mayor, whose Bronx campaign manager was questioned in the case just as Impy was launching his campaign on what he called "very high level."

WILL THE MAYOR FIX THIS ONE?

Impy's Bronx chief quizzed in slaying; Liberals in new jam

By Elmer Bendiner

ROBERT F. WAGNER Jr. scored heavily on points in last week's round of the Democratic Party primary fight. He won the support of the executive board of Local 100, CIO Transport Workers Union. The Mayor won Bernard Baruch.

Baruch defended the city's bankrupt state a little lamely: "If the Federal finances are not in order, no city's finances can be in order." But he bestowed on the Mayor these adjectives: ". . . decent, clean, honest and vigorous." His characterization of the Mayor came shortly before the Mayor's Bronx campaign manager Joseph P. Pizzo was called in by police for questioning in the murder on Aug. 28 of Thomas Lewis, president of Local 32E, AFL Building Service Employes Intl. Union.

TROUBLE-SHOOTER: In 1950 Pizzo had served briefly as campaign manager for Impellitteri until Lewis came out for the Democratic-Liberal candidate, Ferdinand Pecora. Pizzo then shifted to Pecora but too late to preserve himself in Lewis' favor.

He thereupon lost a lucrative job with the Alcor Agency, 250 W. 57 St., brokers handling the insurance business of 32E and 12 other unions. The agency's v. p. is Lewis' widow, Later Pizzo went to work for the Yonkers Raceway and almost immediately a 32E strike was called off. For such "trouble-shooting" Pizzo was paid $55,000 in 17 months. Lewis yanked him out of that profitable post in April, 1952.

Lewis was murdered by Edward (Snakes) Ryan who in turn was killed in a battle with police; but investigators felt certain that Ryan was merely a hired trigger man and were looking for his employer.

IMPY IN A CORNER: When Pizzo was picked up, newsmen at City Hall asked the Mayor to confirm the fact of Pizzo's appointment on his campaign staff. The Mayor tried hard to get out from under. At first he said: "Not that I know of." Then he said he had not personally appointed Pizzo, finally declared:

"The fanfare calling of Mr. Pizzo was a propaganda scheme to try and drive Pizzo out of the campaign."

City Magistrate Louis Fusco was appointed to take over the Bronx campaign. His first job was to accompany Pizzo to headquarters for questioning where police curtly told the judge: "Outside." The Mayor was hanging on the ropes.

Wagner also landed a lucky punch when he drew the first line on the printed primary ballot. That spot might net him as much as 5% more votes. Luck figured far larger than issues in the campaign. Wagner barely hinted at a principled position by invoking Al Smith, FDR, and his father, the late Sen. Robert F. Wagner. Impellitteri in the course of a swing through Brooklyn in his shirt sleeves, declared that he was a liberal, not a conservative, and that he would "keep the campaign on a very high level."

SPARE A DIME? That level

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)

THE HOUSE ON 106TH STREET

City orders 50 families out of unsafe building, abandons them till ALP forces relief

WALKING east from Fifth Av. along 106th St. pedestrians spot No. 26 easily. It leans out from its neighbors toward the gutter. (Its front wall tilts two feet from the vertical, according to the Dept. of Housing and Buildings.) Its tenants—50 Puerto Rican families—last week suddenly became displaced persons. What refuge they found they had to fight for.

The precariously leaning wall was not a new situation. In December, 1951, the Housing Dept. notified the owner, the Jori Holding Co., of the situation. The owners did nothing; in October, 1952, the courts issued an order permitting demolition unless the situation was remedied. Nothing was done. On Aug. 21, the department told Angelo de Jesus, who leases the property, that the tenants ought to be told to leave because the building seemed to be "coming down." De Jesus said later he failed to spread the alarm because "I was afraid to."

ORDERED OUT: On Aug. 26, representatives of the department suddenly swooped down on the house and ordered immediate evacuation. Tenants were hurried into the street without their belongings, their money, clothes, food. Mothers were led out carrying babies in their arms, leaving the milk behind.

The department evacuation order said: "There is actual and imminent danger that this structure or part thereof will fall so as to endanger life or property." It decreed that No. 26 "shall remain vacant and unoccupied." It failed to decree what might happen to the scores of persons displaced from No. 26.

They stood on the sidewalk in the 90-degree heat most of Wednesday afternoon, mothers at a loss how to feed their crying infants. One of the tenants telephoned for help to the American Labor Party. ALP exec. secy. Arthur Schutzer and 14th A.D. district leader Manuel Medina hurried to the scene. Schutzer telephoned the Mayor's office, talked with one of his secretaries, was told she would check into it and call back in 15 minutes. When she failed to call, Schutzer telephoned the Mayor again, was told the secretary had gone home.

MANUEL MEDINA
They know where to go

DEUCES WILD: No public or private agency had yet shown any interest in the DP's. The nearby Cherokee Democratic Club took no notice. Card games could be seen going on as usual inside the clubhouse. Police stood about on the street in front of No. 26 to maintain order but offered no solution for the homeless.

At 6 p.m. Schutzer and Medina called the tenants together at a street meeting. They were authorized to send this telegram to Mayor Impellitteri:

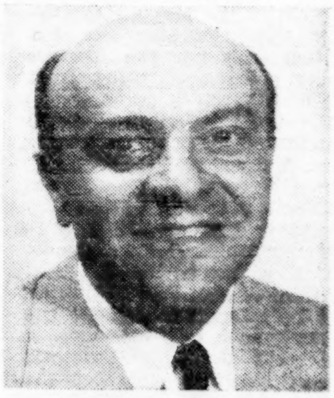
"OUR PHONE CALL TO CITY HALL FOR IMMEDIATE EMERGENCY HOUSING AND OTHER AID FOR TENANTS EVACUATED FROM 26 E. 106 ST. HAS BEEN CALLOUSLY IGNORED. UNLESS YOU ACT AT ONCE THE TENANTS WILL COME TO GRACIE MANSION [Mayor's residence] TONIGHT TO PRESENT THEIR DEMANDS IN PERSON."

BREAKTHOUGH: At 7 p.m. the tenants convened again, this time their number swelled by husbands who returned from work to find police lines set up before their home, their wives and children in the street. They voted to set an 8 p.m. deadline. If no help came by then they would march on Gracie Mansion. Schutzer told the police sergeant in charge he was sure the tenants would be orderly but that they would camp on the Mayor's lawn until they were offered help.

The sergeant said nothing, went off, returned at 7:30, asked Schutzer to inform the tenants that housing, food and financial aid would be arranged for at the Children's Shelter, 2 E. 105th St. Schutzer and Medina accompanied the tenants to the shelter, where emergency interviewers were arriving. Milk was given the infants, temporary housing was arranged for. Many were allowed to pass through police lines to bring out clothing and valuables they needed.

PROBE DEMAND: ALP chairman Vito Marcantonio commented:

"This occurrence points to criminal negligence by the Impellitteri Dept. of Housing and Buildings. This tenement house was declared unsafe almost two years ago. But the tenants were exposed to continuing danger of injury and death by a gouging landlord and look-the-other-way city officials. Moreover, the utter failure of city departments to provide immediate emergency shelter in this crisis outrages all decent New Yorkers. We will demand an immediate grand jury investigation and prosecution of all persons guilty in this matter."



ARTHUR SCHUTZER
He got action

Throughout the afternoon and evening newsmen were at the scene, covering the story mainly through ALP spokesmen. None of the big press reported the fight for quick relief, presence of ALP officials, street meetings, the threat to march on Gracie Mansion.

The N. Y. **Times** said only: "Representatives of the Dept. of Welfare were on hand to help tenants find temporary shelter."

Don't forget to vote Sept. 15

WE NEED GG
GG NOW
GG NOW

IN NEW YORK THEY PICKETED CITY HALL FOR GAMMA GLOBULIN

For a full story on polio and the value of GG, see Natl. p. 3

Politics

(Continued from Page 1)

included very little talk about the waterfront, the scandalous situation of the schools, hospitals, city services; nothing about the underassessment of big real estate by which the city loses considerable revenue each year. There was no mention of Taft-Hartley, peace, the witch hunt, police brutality, the treatment of Puerto Rican and Negro minorities, the rise in anti-Semitism. (Only the ALP campaigned on such issues.) Wagnerites made some hay out of the Mayor's capitulation on the fare rise but neither they nor the Liberals would promise to bring back the dime fare.

Eugene R. Canudo, Liberal candidate for council President, quizzed on the Citizens Union "Searchlight" program (WNBC), proposed a $25,000,000 economy drive in the transit system, which would almost certainly mean lay-offs and perhaps drastic cuts in service. But he refused to commit the Liberals to a fare reduction in the event of a Liberal victory. Liberal Halley's vote against the fare boost has been his party's chief stock-in-trade.

Wagner touched an issue last week by promising to inquire into the high cost of milk. It was the closest he came to bread-and-butter talk, despite the fact that a hard-hitting campaign on the key issues would rouse rank-and-file voters to come out on Primary Day and give him his biggest chance to beat the Mayor. Labor support already committed to him had apparently failed so far to push him into a fighting program.

OUT OF SCHOOL: The GOP tried to make hay out of the Democrats' inner battles, and sought to rally "disgusted Democrats" for Harold Riegelman. James A. Lundy, GOP Queens Borough President up for reelection, asked all candidates to "leave schools out of politics."

Riegelman invited all other candidates to debate the issues with him over TV. Democrats and Liberals ignored the proposal. Only ALP's Clifford McAvoy accepted. No date has been set for the telecast.

Riegelman approached labor gingerly, said Wagner was tied to Joseph P. Ryan of the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. (Wagner's name was used in connection with a testimonial dinner to King Joe), and that Halley was "the political property of a single ambitious labor czar" (presumably David Dubinsky).

THE PALS: The Liberal Party in at least one assembly district was bedeviled by the close friendship between N. Y. County Chairman Murray Baron and Robert Morris, chief counsel for the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, a ferret for witch-hunters since 1940 and largely responsible for the hunt among UN employes. Backed by Rep. Frederic Coudert, a premature witchhunter, Morris is contending with Vincent Gavin Hart for the GOP nomination for Municipal Court judge in Manhattan's silk-stocking 9th AD.

Johanna M. Lindlof, former member of the Board of Education and a leading figure in the Liberal Party, tried to forge a Democratic-Liberal coalition against Morris behind Democrat Henry B. Rothblatt. In a formal statement she reported on negotiations with the Liberal Party:

"Mr. Rothblatt has advised me that Mr. Baron made the following declaration to him: 'I cannot support your candidacy because I do not want to hurt Robert Morris who is a friend of mine.' This shocking and amazing endorsement of the chief counsel to the Jenner committee is bossism of the worst kind and betrays the thousands of Liberal Party voters, of whom I am proud to be one.

"I am further advised that several weeks ago Mr. Rothblatt personally informed Mr. Baron of his willingness to run on the Liberal Party line as well as the Democratic Party line in order to defeat Mr. Morris. Mr. Baron told Mr. Rothblatt that he warmly approved of Mr. Rothblatt's record and qualifications but he explained that Mr. Morris was a friend of his and that it would be 'embarrassing' if the Liberal Party acted to defeat him. I believe that the Liberal Party members do not share Mr. Baron's enthusiasm for the right-hand man of Sen. Jenner and the hand-picked designee of Cong. Coudert."

ALP'S WAY: The Liberal Party has named George Horowitz for the post though Murray Baron's ties to Morris would indicate a feeble campaign in that sector. Mr. Rothblatt announced a write-in campaign for the Liberal nomination.

The ALP, unencumbered by such ties, talked issues, acted on them (see story on p. N.Y. 1). That kind of campaign brought close FBI scrutiny:

James Annacone resigned as ALP chairman in Erie County. In July two FBI men called on Mrs. Annacone, asked her why her husband resigned his ALP post. She explained that his union and his job took too much of his time.

(Later in commenting on the incident the Erie County ALP appended this reminder: "If you are visited by the FBI you don't have to answer their questions—this is your right. If in doubt consult your attorney.")

The FBI men listened to Mrs. Annacone, then told her that her husband had resigned out of disagreements with chairman Marcantonio. When she denied it they commented on her nice family, said they would hate to see anything happen to them.

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PATRONIZE GUARDIAN ADVERTISERS

LOW-COST MEDICAL CARE DEFENDED

Big labor rallies to support HIP against big medicine

WHEN the Kings County Medical Society opened its full-scale war on low cost medical care, singling out the Health Insurance Plan of Greater N.Y., HIP looked like David facing Goliath (see GUARDIAN, 7/20). But HIP turned to organized labor for support and by last week had organized medicine on the run.

A. J. Hayes, president of the AFL Intl. Assn. of Machinists, led off the rally in a talk before members of the Intl. Ladies Garments Workers at Unity House, Forest Park, Pa., Aug. 19:

A. J. HAYES
The support is strong

"I cannot help but become bitter when I read of the attacks such as the recent one which was leveled by the president of the Medical Society of Brooklyn on HIP. Why does organized medicine attack plans such as HIP which have done away with fee-splitting, one of the most obnoxious rackets in the medical profession? Why does organized medicine insist that the board of directors of HIP be controlled by the medical societies instead of controlled as at present by leaders from all parts of the community, including labor leaders? . . . Labor unions have been strong supporters of these prepaid group practice plans in the U.S. and we will continue to support them."

Hayes is a former member of the President's Commission on Health Needs of the Nation.

HOODWINKS & GIMMICKS? The AFL Central Trades and Labor Council, at its Aug. 20 meeting, viewed Big Medicine's attack on HIP as a threat to union health programs, passed a resolution condemning the attack and pledging its support to HIP, sent copies to officials at all levels of the American Medical Assn. and the AFL.

Dr. Alfred P. Ingegno of the Kings County Medical Society said the resolution was "full of phony gimmicks, distortions and evasions" and offered labor this advice:

"No respectable labor organization should sensibly allow itself to be hoodwinked into seeming to be concerned less with getting good voluntary medical insurance for the working man and more with outrageous slander of the medical profession."

CAMPAIGN PLANK: Labor skipped the doctor's advice. The New York Teachers Union, in a quiz of candidates (see GUARDIAN, 8/24), asked that support of HIP be made a campaign plank. On Aug. 25, the Greater New York CIO Council wired Dr. Ingegno:

"At least 75% of the 400,000 subscribers of HIP belong to organized labor and your attack on HIP is a direct attack on attempts of organized labor to mitigate prohibitive medical costs. Decent medical care, as you must know, is prohibitive to the average worker in New York City. Should your attack on HIP be successful, it would only lead to the restoration of 'the good old days' when the average worker in N.Y. City who was employed was unable to obtain adequate medical care for his family.

"The Kings County Medical Society obviously wants to turn the clock back. You attack HIP and try to destroy it, yet you are unable to offer a decent substitute for HIP. You may be certain that the Council will do all in its power to fight against the reactionary policy you are proposing."

Dr. Ingegno's office said the doctor was on vacation and unavailable for comment.

They were six

NEW YORK, N. Y.

As one reader who believes that the President made a grave error in failing to commute the Rosenberg sentence, I was interested to learn that President Eisenhower had granted six pardons since he has been in office.

Since Pres. Truman also had the Rosenberg clemency plea on his desk before his office expired, it is noteworthy that between Nov., 1952, and Jan 20, 1953, he granted 26 pardons and two commutations. Truman pardoned Rep. J. Parnell Thomas and Andrew W. May, along with Ed. Prichard (who stuffed ballots in Kentucky) and ex-Gov. Leche of Louisiana, (who was in for mail fraud). This last pardon must have been a midnight deal—for it was not disclosed until Jan. 23—after Truman left office.

J. B. Stanley

PEONAGE PEDDLERS

Job racketeers milk incoming Puerto Ricans

THE city's businessmen are regularly canvassed by postcards advertising: "Low cost, dependable Puerto Rican labor—an abundant supply is available."

What some of those cards peddle is peonage. Orlando Parga, producer of Revista del Mediodia (Midday Review) on Station WLIB, stumbled across the story behind one such agency in the course of his daily microphone interviews of newly arrived Puerto Ricans at Idlewild Airport.

Parga singled out two young Puerto Ricans: Carmen Lydia Negron of Vega Alta and Emilia Lugo Guzman of Santurce, a suburb of San Juan. They had not just arrived. They had already been through the mill in New York.

An employment agency had signed them up in Puerto Rico to do housework in New York: salary, $55 a month. The agency paid their fare.

FIFTY-FIFTY: After they were set in their jobs the two young women discovered that their employers were paying not $55 but $110 and sending half to the agency that hired them. They visited the agency's New York offices. The boss spoke no Spanish; they spoke no English; they got nowhere.

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They made it clear to the boss' secretary that they did not intend to go on working at a place where the agency took half their pay. The agency threatened that if they left their jobs they would be jailed for fraud. They came to the airport to warn other Puerto Ricans brought here on similar terms.

Parga said he was threatened after his interviews at the airport. He planned to take the racket to the district attorney.

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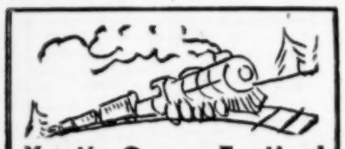

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Movie Suggestions

First Runs

THE SNOW MAIDEN, Russian full-length color cartoon based on Rimsky-Korsakov opera. Stanley, 7th Av. nr. 42d St. Opens Sept. 5.

BEGGAR'S OPERA, John Gay's gay 18th-century opera, with Laurence Olivier singing. Baronet, 3d at 59th.

FROM HERE TO ETERNITY—Based on James Jones book on brutality of army life, this one is no encouragement to enlistment. Capitol, B'way & 51st St.

COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW—John Barrymore in reissue of Elmer Rice classic. Trans-Lux 72d St., 346 E. 72d.

THE SEA AROUND US—Documentary. Trans-Lux 60th, Madison & 60th St.

STALAG 17—Astor, B'way & 45th.

SEVEN DEADLY SINS—(Fr.-It.) 7 short films, one per sin. Paris, 4 W. 58th St.

JULIUS CAESAR — Shakespeare makes the big screen. Booth Theatre, 45th St., W. of B'way. Reserved seats.

Special

CLUB CINEMA, 6th Av. bet. 9-10 Sts. 1 showing, 9:15 p.m. **The Jackie Robinson Story** (1952) with Jackie playing himself. Sept. 4-6.

THALIA INTL. FILM FESTIVAL, 95th & B'way. AC 2-3370..

2 by Cocteau: **Eagle With 2 Heads & The Storm Within** (Les Parents Terribles), Sat., Sept. 5.

Confessions of a Rogue (Fr., Jouvet) & **Facts of Love** (Br. comedy), Sun., Sept. 6.

Robt. Flaherty's **The Titan** (Michelangelo biog.) & Sasha Guitry's **Pearls of the Crown,** Mon., Sept. 7.

Life Begins Tomorrow (Fr. semi-documentary with Sarte, Picasso, (other notables) & **The Brave Don't Cry** (Br. miners), Tues., Sept. 8.

Berlin-Alexanderplatz & Peddler and the Lady (It., Magnani), Wed., Sept. 9.

In the Circus Arena (Russ.-Chinese circus) & **The Children** (Swedish comedy), Thurs., Sept. 10.

Compliments of Mr. Flow (Fr., Jouvet) & Fernandel in Pagnol's **Topaze,** Fri., Sept. 11.

55TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, ENGLISH FILM REPERTORY, 55th near 7th Av.

Maugham's **Trio** & Dickens' **Great Expectations** (Guinness), Sept. 3-5.

2 thrillers: **The Lady Vanishes & Dead of Night** (both with M. Redgrave), Sept. 8-9.

Noel Coward's **Brief Encounter & I Know Where I'm Going** (Wendy Hiller), Sept. 10-12.

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. Shows 3 & 5:30 p.m.

Films of **Ernst Lubitach series.**

Desire (1936), Dietrich & Cooper, thru Sept. 6.

A Royal Scandal (1945), T. Bankhead, Sept. 7-13.

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. **Broken Arrow & When My Baby Smiles At Me,** Sept. 8-9; **Jazz Singer** (Danny Thomas & Peggy Lee) & **San Antoine,** Sept. 10-11; **Time of Their Life & Trail of Robinhood,** Sept. 12.

ART, 36 E. 8th St. **Fanfan the Tulip** (Fr.), cont.

BEVERLY, 3d Av. at 50th St. **Great Expectations & Gunfighter,** Sept. 6-8; **Here Comes Mr. Jordan & Mr. Lucky,** Sept. 9-12.

BRYANT, 42d, W. of 6th Av. **My Gal Sal & Brave Bulls,** Sept. 5-8; **Union Station & Viva Zapata,** Sept. 9-11.

85TH ST. TRANSLUX, 85th & Madison. FILM FESTIVAL: **Goodbye My Fancy,** Sept. 7; **Streetcar Named Desire,** Sept. 8; **Glass Menagerie,** Sept. 9; **The Suspect,** Sept. 10; **Green For Danger,** Sept. 11.

8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th St. **Bowery to B'way & Ox Bow Incident,** Sept. 5; **Streetcar Named Desire,** Sept. 6-8; J. Arthur Rank's **Long Memory** (John Mills) & **It Started in Paradise,** Sept. 9-15.

5TH AV. PLAYHOUSE, 5th Av. at 13th St. Shaw's **Caesar and Cleopatra** (Br.) & **Dead of Night** (Br., M. Redgrave), thru Sept. 10.

52D ST. TRANSLUX, Lexington & 52d. **Lili,** cont.

FINE ARTS, 58th bet. Park-Lexington. **The Cruel Sea,** (Br. docum.—type from Monsarrat novel, cont.)

GRAMERCY, Lexington & 23d St. **Lady Vanishes** (1939, M. Redgrave & M. Lockwood), & **Hidden Room** (both Br.), Sept. 5-8.

GREENICH, Greenich Av. at 12 St. **Kontiki & Rashomon,** thru Sept. 5; **Anna** (It.) & **Ruby Gentry,** Sept. 6-8; **Girl Friday & Brave Bulls,** Sept. 9-11.

GUILD, 33 W. 50th. **A Queen Is Crowned** (docum., Olivier narrating), cont.

GRANDE, 160 E. 86th St. **State Fair** (1945, Rodgers & Hammerstein music and songs &**Virginia City,** Sept. 7-8.

HEIGHTS, Wadsworth & 181st St. **Face to Face & Under the Red Sea** (documen.), Sept. 9.

MIDTOWN, B'way & 100th. **Amazing M. Fabray** (Fr.) & **Miss Robinhood** (Br.), Sept. 5-8; **The Juggler & Lost Comanchos,** Sept. 9-11.

PLAZA, 58th & Madison. **Below the Sahara** (color docum.) cont.

STUYVESANT, 189 2d Av. **He Ran All the Way & Rose of Washington Square,** Sept. 5; **American in Paris,** Sept. 6-7; **O. Henry's Full House,** Sept. 10-11.

WAVERLY, 6th Av. at 3d St. **Destry Rides Again** (1939, Dietrich) & **Hired Wife,** Sept. 5-6; **Male War Bride & Rawhide,** Sept. 8-10.

WORLD, 153 W. 49th. **Rome Eleven O'Clock** (It.), cont.

Bronx

DOVER, 1723 Boston Rd. **Face to Face & Under the Red Sea** (documentary), Sept. 9-15.

Actors mobile group sets fall plans

The Actors' Mobile Theatre, an interracial group, has announced it will expand its program to include regular performances of new and classic plays at its new theatre at 430 Av. of Americas (9th St.), which it will share jointly with Club Cinema. The first production of the season will be "The Madwoman of Chaillot," opening early in November. AMT's objective is to organize a self-sustaining company to produce modern and classic plays in repertory.

Bittersweet world

On Friday evening, Sept. 11, "The World of Sholom Aleichem" will reopen for seven weeks at the Barbizon-Plaza Theater, 58th St. and Sixth Av. The dramatization in English by Arnold Perl is based on tales by Sholom Aleichem and Isidore Peretz. Featured in the cast are Morris Carnovsky, Howard da Silva (who also directed),Ruby Dee, Jack Gilford, Will Lee, Gil Green and Sarah Cunningham (above). Evening performance at 8:30 Tues. thru Sun.

Radio Tips

Over WNYC

"MUSIC FOR YOUNG LISTENERS," new series of music appreciation programs consists of instrumental and vocal works. **Saturdays beginning Sept. 5 from 11 to 11:30 a.m.**

"WAYS OF MANKIND," Natl. Assn. of Educational Broadcasters in a new 13-week series dealing with the general pattern of behavior, studying various races of the world. Starting **Sept. 6, from 1-1:30 p.m.**

THEATER SEMINAR'S 8-series program of outstanding lectures, discussions and readings on Shakespeare and stage direction by well-known personalities of the theater. **Every Sun., beginning Sept. 6 from 3 to 4:30 p.m.**

Sept. 6—Eva Le Gallienne on "Acting Shakespeare."

Sept. 13—Lawrence Languer discusses "The Classical Revival of Shakespeare in America."

•

Other selected WNYC programs listed below.

SAT., SEPT. 5 — "Shakespeare's Other Stratford," special documentary program dealing with the impact of the first Shakespeare Festival held in the little town of Stratford, Canada, with Alec Guinness, others. 8:30-8:55 p.m.

SAT., SEPT. 12—We Saw Tomorrow, UN series of dramatic eyewitness accounts of reporters who travelled through eight Latin-American countries, with tape-recorded voices. Melvyn Douglas, narrator. 8:30-9 p.m.

Events for Children

AMER. MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. **Exhibit:** Live army ants from the Barro Colorado Island in Panama. Thru Sept. 10. 10-5 weekdays, 1-5 Sun. & holidays. Free.

MARIONETTE CIRCUS, Dept. of Parks. Free. MANHATTAN:

Tues., Sept. 8, 2:30 p.m. Highbridge Playground, 173d St. & Amsterdam Av.

Wed., Sept. 9, 2:30 p.m. Thomas Jefferson Playground, 112th St. & 1st Av.

Thurs., Sept. 10, 2:30 p.m. Alfred E. Smith Houses Playground, Catherine & Madison Sts.

Fri., Sept. 11, 2:30 p.m. Inwood Playground, Isham & Seeman Sts.

AMER. MUSEUM-HAYDEN PLANETARIUM, 81st St. & Central Park W. **Destination Saturn** continues. An imaginary rocket trip to the planet Saturn. Mon.-Fri., 2, 3:30 & 8:30 p.m.; Sats. 11 a.m., 2, 3, 4, 5 & 8:30 p.m.; Sun., 2, 3, 4, 5 & 8:30 p.m. Adults, 65c, eves. 95c. Children, 40c.

ICE CAPADES, Madison Sq. Garden, 8th Av. bet. 49th & 50th Sts. Opens Sept. 10 thru 20. Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs will be seen for first time on ice. Mon.-Sat., 8:30 p.m. Sun., 7 p.m. Children at ½ price, Sat. & Sun. mats.

B'KLYN MUSEUM, Eastern Parkway & Washington Av. Travel films for older children. Mon. & Wed. at 2 p.m. Free.

•

You can get hundreds of listings of children's activities — many free, many listed nowhere else — for every day of the month, in advance! For one year subscription (12 Monthly issues) just send $2 with name and address to Box MC, Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York City 7.

Mrs. Santiago's claim

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I was terribly shocked the other day when I read an article in your paper praising Mrs. Laura Santiago—a so-called leader of this district. I personally feel that you have wrongly evaluated the merits of the said lady as she has never accomplished what she claims to have performed.

I happen to be the leader of the 14th Assembly District of the American Labor Party in Manhattan—and I can definitely state that Mrs. Santiago has not won the respect of the Puerto Rican people in this district as she has not done anything worth mentioning. As to her statement concerning ex-Congressman Vito Marcantonio, it appears that she is talking through her hat. The Mayoralty election of 1949 as well as the Congressional election of 1950 definitely prove that the Puerto Rican people solidly support Marcantonio. The results of the said elections is a matter of record which cannot be challenged by Mrs. Santiago nor by any other person who attempts to build up a reputation in the district through false and misleading information.

The people of our district do come to our clubs for assistance in their various problems. Neither Mrs. Santiago's group nor any other entity in the community even attempts to render such services.

Francisco Achilla

In the course of a news story on the Puerto Rican voters in the New York election, the GUARDIAN (8/17/53) quoted Mrs. Santiago as saying: "We took the Puerto Ricans away from Marcantonio." It also described her participation in a delegation to the Mayor on problems of the Puerto Ricans.

The story was an objective report. It did not contain "praise" of Mrs. Santiago, nor did it indicate acceptance of her claim. The GUARDIAN is well aware that the 14th A. D. ALP Club has helped scores of people and we say more power to Mr. Achilla and his fellow club members. We are glad to publish his letter. Ed.

RE-OPENS SEPT. 11—SEVEN WEEKS ONLY—IN ENGLISH

RE-OPENS SEPT. 11—SEVEN WEEKS ONLY
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20	~~21~~	22	23	24	25	26
~~27~~	~~28~~	29	30			

OCTOBER 1953

SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
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~~4~~	~~5~~	~~6~~	~~7~~	~~8~~	9	~~10~~
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MATINEES AVAILABLE:
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music by RIMSKY KORSAKOFF
STANLEY

AS THE WORLD WATCHED THE UN VOTE ON INDIA

U.S. prestige hits new low in orgy of arm-twisting

By Kumar Goshal
Guardian staff correspondent

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

INSIDE the air-conditioned UN committee rooms last week, away from the record heat that engulfed the city, there was a high sense of excitement as the Political and Security Committee prepared to vote on the composition of the political conference for peace in Korea. There was talk of an allied split (and more than talk), of surprise moves, of unlooked for dramatic incidents.

The surprises did not come. When the voting was over, the excitement remained and there was plenty of talk—about the crudest display yet of American steamroller diplomacy. The U.S. won a "victory" in denying India a place at the conference; but it lost what respect it still commanded in the world's glass house.

TWIST OF THE WRIST: The N.Y. **Times** reported (8/30):

> At the end of the session, a delegate who had voted against India was asked what his reasons had been. He grabbed his wrist, gave his arm a twist, and walked away.

Canada's Ottawa **Journal** found it

> . . . disturbing to see Uncle Sam whip 17 South American countries into line to enforce upon the world an Asian peace not to the world's liking.

It asked the Canadian government to inform the U.S. State Dept. in the strongest terms that, in its view, U.S. policy in Asia "is capable of doing almost incredible and perhaps irreparable harm."

When Soviet delegate Vishinsky accused U.S. delegate Lodge of taking a "master race" approach to Asia, Lodge replied heatedly:

> "You gentlemen . . . can look around New York . . . go to Washington . . . go anywhere in America and see for yourselves—in the city halls, in the state capitals, in the national government, in business, in labor, and in the professions. Where is the master race in all these places? Who is it?"

SIMPLE, ISN'T IT? These remarks moved the N.Y. **Post** (8/31) to comment:

> Now our chief spokesmen at the UN seem chiefly interested in making simple-minded speeches and posing for bellicose pictures that will win Republican votes next year in isolationist territory.

Before the vote there were the usual huddles and whispered conferences in the delegates' lounge, the "leaks" to favored correspondents that the British Cabinet had decided at a special meeting to compromise and avoid an open split with the U.S. Lodge, grinning confidently, strutted about like a football tackle. India's delegate, Krishna Menon, cane in hand, rushed in and out of the lounge. The spreading rumor that India would withdraw brought the Indian delegation's hot denial to this correspondent. In the debate Lodge spoke as though the outcome were predetermined.

INDIA'S KRISHNA MENON and U.S.'s HENRY LODGE
"Where is the master race? Who is it?"

Delegates of the socialist countries supported India; of the Asian countries only Pakistan voted with the U.S. Although the move to seat India had been offered by four Commonwealth nations, Britain gave only tepid support to India, and Australia almost begged India to withdraw.

THE WINNAH! Krishna Menon, in a rambling speech, took an above-the-battle attitude; he neither withdrew nor did he fight for a favorable verdict. He denied there was conflict between India and the U.S., noted that he and Lodge had been photographed together. (At this point Lodge beamed at Menon, gave him a boxer's above-the-head hand-shake.)

Although India received a majority of votes in the Political Committee it was far from the two-thirds majority required in the Assembly. When the full assembly met, Krishna Menon asked that the vote not be taken. It was not.

Despite the pressure, many delegates voted for India to demonstrate their refusal to knuckle under. Perhaps the most striking feature of the brief Assembly session was the increasing number of nations which voted against the U.S. or abstained.

The Assembly approved the proposal submitted by the U.S. and 14 of its allies in Korea. This would allow only the belligerents and the U.S.S.R.—"should the other side desire it"—to participate in the political conference. The Soviet proposal for a broader composition of the UN team—an idea known to be favored by such U.S. allies as Britain and France—was rejected. The Assembly instructed both the U.S. and UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold to communicate the results to the N. Koreans and Chinese, and Hammarskjold was told to report back.

CARROT OR CLUB? In the wake of the steamroller the U.S. delegation made it known that it would support Mme. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, sister of India's premier, for president of the General Assembly's eighth session convening Sept. 15. There were questions in the UN: Was the U.S. using the "carrot and the club" method with India? Was it publicly supporting Mme. Pandit and privately telling the Latin American bloc to work for her defeat? INS reported (N.Y. **Journal-American** 8/31):

> The U.S., in supporting Mme. Pandit will make it unmistakably clear that should she be elected any move by India's V.K. Krishna Menon to take advantage of her position will be challenged.

The vote on the resolution to seat India was revealing when broken down by population.

In favor of seating India (27)

Afghanistan	12,000,000	Guatemala	3,000,000	Poland	25,000,000
Australia	11,000,000	Indonesia	77,000,000	Saudi Arabia	6,500,000
Burma	18,000,000	Iran	20,000,000	Sweden	7,000,000
Byelorrussia	10,400,000	Iraq	5,000,000	Syria	3,000,000
Canada	14,000,000	Lebanon	1,000,000	Ukraine	40,000,000
Czechoslovakia	12,500,000	Liberia	2,500,000	U. S. S. R.	149,600,000
Denmark	4,000,000	Mexico	26,000,000	U. K.	50,375,000
Egypt	21,000,000	New Zealand	2,000,000	Yemen	5,000,000
Ethiopia	15,000,000	Norway	3,000,000	Yugoslavia	16,000,000

Total for: 560,375,000. Total for with India: 916,000,000. Total for with India and China (China favored India's participation): 1,391,375,000.

Against seating India (21)

Bolivia	3,000,000	Ecuador	3,000,000	Pakistan	75,000,000
Brazil	52,000,000	El Salvador	2,000,000	Panama	800,000
Chile	6,000,000	Formosa	7,500,000	Paraguay	1,500,000
Colombia	11,000,000	Greece	7,500,000	Peru	8,500,000
Costa Rica	825,000	Haiti	3,000,000	U. S. A.	160,000,000
Cuba	5,500,000	Honduras	1,500,000	Venezuela	5,000,000
Dom. Republic	2,000,000	Nicaragua	1,000,000	Uruguay	2,000,000

Total against: 359,125,000.

Abstentions (11)

Argentina	17,000,000	Israel	1,500,000	Thailand	19,000,000
Belgium	8,500,000	Luxembourg	300,000	Turkey	21,000,000
France	43,000,000	Netherlands	10,000,000	S. Africa	12,000,000
Iceland	145,000	Philippines	20,000,000		

Total abstentions: 152,445,000.

It was common knowledge in the UN that without U.S. pressure, most of those abstaining would have voted for India.

Bar Assn. declares war on 'communists'; Brownell seeks to wreck Lawyers Guild

ON Aug. 25 in Boston, at the 76th convention of the American Bar Assn., the ABA's House of Delegates unanimously adopted a report declaring membership in the Communist Party "incompatible and inconsistent with membership at the bar." It asked that the Attorney General and local bar associations find ways to disqualify "communist" lawyers. Two days later Atty. Gen. Brownell told the ABA that the Natl. Lawyers Guild, as "legal mouthpiece" of the Communist Party, had been ordered to show cause why it shouldn't be listed as a "subversive" organization by his office.

The ABA report was made by its special Committee to Study Communist Strategy and Objectives set up last winter with witch-hunting former Sen. O'Conor (D-Md.) as chairman. The committee reported that lawyers on the ABA's own list of "subversives" should be encouraged to go before Congressional Committees and "give frank testimony." This meant, said **Federated Press** (8/26)

> . . . first, admission of past communist party membership, then denunciation of communism, and finally, identification of others as communists.

GUILD FIGHTS BACK: Brownell's quick follow-up of the ABA's suggestion was sandwiched between a general statement on law enforcement (with special reference to interstate violations) and an attack on "foreign-born" criminals possibly subject to deportation. He said he had studied evidence against the Lawyers Guild with special care because it had attracted

> ". . . very well known and completely loyal American citizens, including many colored members who found it would admit them at a time when our American Bar Assn. failed to do so."

The Guild leadership answered promptly. Its president, Earl B. Dickerson, declared Brownell's charges to be "without foundation" and pledged an all-out fight. Said Dickerson:

> "The Natl. Lawyers Guild is the mouthpiece for no party or doctrine except the American doctrine of freedom and civil liberties for all. As Sen. William Langer of N. Dakota said in a speech Sept. 20, 1950, entitled 'Natl. Lawyers Guild—Legal Bulwark of Democracy': 'In my opinion the lawyers in the Natl. Lawyers Guild are just as loyal as any Senator upon this [Senate] floor.'"

WHAT ABA IS: Other Guild members declared that its very existence challenged the ABA's treatment of Negro lawyers. Though Negroes fought for years to be admitted to ABA, not until the Guild was formed in 1936 did the ABA open its doors to a token number. Only recently did it delete from its application form references to a candidate's color and race.

The ABA has been likened in the field of law to the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers in the industrial field. Contrary to common belief membership in the ABA is not required for the practice of law except in a few states, California and Michigan among them.

Asked by the GUARDIAN how the Natl. Lawyers Guild regarded the Attorney General's "subversive" list as a whole, Robert Silberstein, exec. secy., said the Guild had opposed it from the first as illegal, and that it would continue to oppose the maintenance of the list and the threat of being put on the list.

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

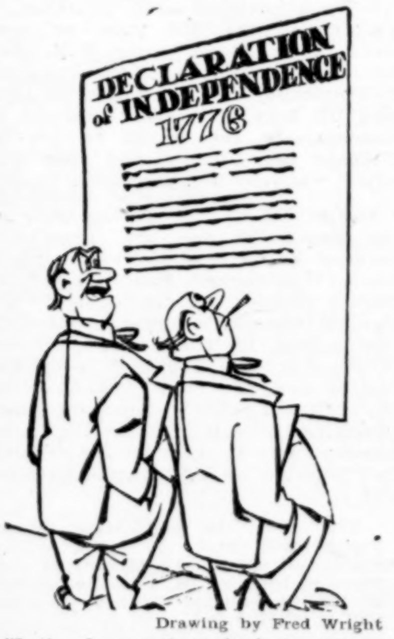
its threats, Washington had settled for now, James Reston (N. Y. **Times**, 8/12) said, on "a policy of all mischief short of actual war."

THE FAR EAST: Washington's moves to block a Korean settlement had already taken it dangerously far out on a limb. The N. Y. **Post**'s comment (8/26) on the U. S. "victory" over India in the UN (see p. 5) was: HOW TO CARRY A PRECINCT AND LOSE THE WORLD. But with arrogant contempt for world opinion, the U. S. was already pushing its allies into line for a joint "crackdown" on any attempt at the Sept. 15 Assembly session to revise the Korean conference or to admit China to the UN (N. Y. **Journal American**, 8/31).

Washington's policy could be understood only if Soviet delegate Vishinsky's charge—that designs are being made "right under our very eyes" to torpedo the Korean conference and resume the war—were true. Adding substance to the charge were Senate majority leader Knowland's conferences with S. Korean president Rhee in Seoul, and the report that former 8th Army Commander Gen. Van Fleet will command the S. Korean Army. But such plans were less likely to succeed in Korea than anywhere else in the world.

GERMANY: In Europe too the rigid policy was preparing new shambles for the U. S. Further steps in the "psychological war" against E. Germany were reported in the works. **Newsweek** (8/24) said U. S. allies wouldn't like them, "but from now on you can expect the opinions of our allies . . . to carry much less weight with the Administration."

Marquis Childs (N. Y. **Post**, 8/24) said Washington has rejected Churchill's proposal for top-level talks with Moscow because it believes "that a breakdown in the Soviet Empire is not only possible but probable." This was the delusion that destroyed Hitler.



Drawing by Fred Wright

"Let's change it so it just says 'All men are created' . . ."

The policy faced a test in the Sept. 6 W. German elections. The opposition Social Democrats who put four-power talks and a united Germany ahead of Germany's integration with the West, have campaigned opportunistically. They have veered between an almost neutralist position and bipartisanship with Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democrats in rejecting negotiation with E. Germany. But their victory, **Business Week** (8/29) said, would force "painful re-examination" of U. S. policies.

THE PITFALLS: U. S. hopes ride with Adenauer's bid for re-election. But even an Adenauer victory will not, as the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** pointed out (8/30), "in itself assure the success" of U. S. policies. There are two reasons:

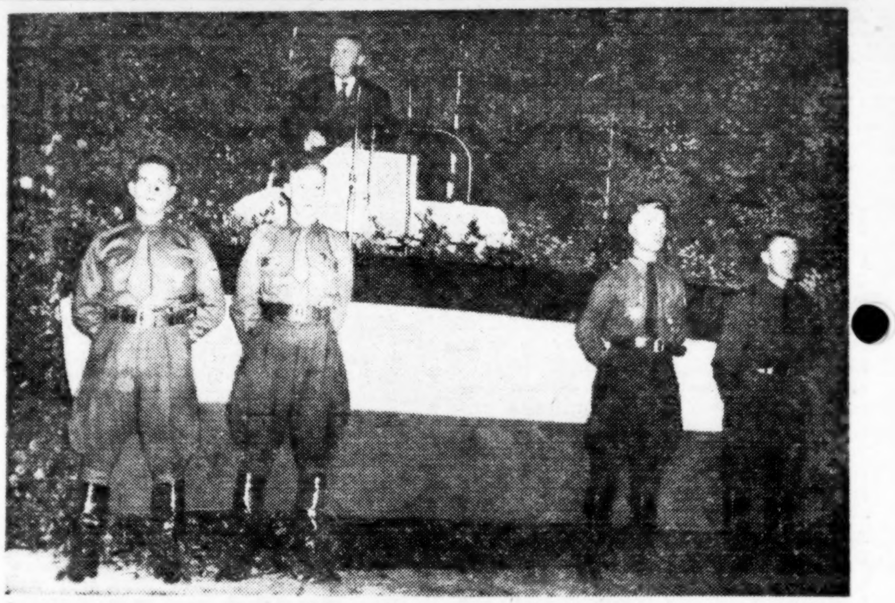
1. The European Army is already dead. Neither an Adenauer victory nor French ratification (increasingly unlikely) could revive it. An Adenauer victory could lead to a new military alignment based on the U. S., W. Germany and Franco Spain. But this would sooner or later split the anti-Soviet coalition and possibly bring closer the conflict between the capitalist powers which Stalin foresaw.

2. German nationalism, once it has got what it wants from Washington, may try to make its own terms with Moscow. Soviet proposals for a four-power solution of the German question are being offered **over the heads of the German nationalists.** Adenauer, an ardent German nationalist, naturally opposes this. But should these proposals be rejected and nationalism become resurgent in W. Germany, an Adenauer attempt to treat with the U. S. S. R. cannot be ruled out.

ROAD TO SECURITY: In an interview with the Frankfurter **Allgemeine Zeitung** (7/7), Adenauer made clear that once W. Germany had become dominant in the European Defense Community (EDC), it would make its own decisions about relations with Russia. Referring to his country as "a third force," he said:

> "The economies of Germany and Russia once before complemented each other. . . . The economy of an integrated Europe, including Germany, could offer even more. The greater the economic meshing [between W. Europe and the U. S. S. R.] the greater the political security."

This, as well as Bonn's recent proposal—that EDC offer Moscow a non-aggression pact—are, in part, election maneuvers designed to offset the effect of the Soviet H-bomb announcement and Soviet Premier Malenkov's warning that W. Germany's integration with the West will make German unity impossible. But they also show how strong are the basic forces making for settlement and the shrewd **realpolitik** of the German nationalists. Secy. Dulles' initial denial that Bonn had made such a proposal showed Washington's patent disapproval.



Isn't this where we came in?

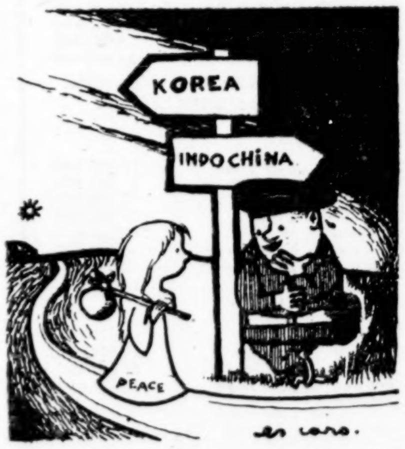
Nazi-style guards stand before Field Marshal Kesselring as he addressed a political rally in Giessen, W. Germany, this summer. Kesselring was sentenced to death by a British military court in 1947 for murdering 335 Italian partisans. He was named as a right-wing candidate in the September 6 elections, but later withdrawn.

ONE WAY OUT: The Western note sent Moscow on election eve was geared to "political warfare" objectives rather than "a quest for agreement with Moscow which is not imminent," as Harold Callender had earlier said it would be (**NYT**, 8/27). Full agreement on such a note among the Big Three means, he said, that Churchill "has abandoned at least for the present," his May proposals for top level talks aimed at settlement.

Negotiation, however, offers Washington the only way out of the giant dilemmas its policies have created. But its obviously tougher stand against negotiation, its towering arrogance, show the ascendancy of the go-it-aloners as U. S. alliance-policy collapses. The go-it-aloners frankly advocate war.

OPPORTUNITY: In this "intermission period," however, the American people have a real chance to defeat this war policy. That the go-it-aloners recognize this is apparent in the intensification of the witch-hunt. The Report of the Jenner Internal Security subcommittee, which reduces the popular achievements of the Roosevelt era to a "Communist conspiracy," is designed to drive out of public life anyone—of whatever political complexion—who disagrees with the go-it-alone policy. Atty.-Gen. Brownell's statement that "the Communists in the U. S. are a greater menace now than ever" shows the extent to which this represents official policy.

But with a Korean truce achieved despite Washington's efforts, with the alliance-policy crumbling, and the world situation favoring settlement, the opportunity is present to force American policy into step with the rest of the world.



Liberation, Paris

"We're not supposed to admit anyone without the password but we see so few women here . . ."

Gentlemen of Wall St., Pals
of the Pentagon,
I think you dip your pens in
blood instead of ink.
You claim to love and lead
mankind. Perhaps.
Then how explain when
peace hopes gain
Your stocks and bonds collapse?

J. S. Wallace

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The People Speak for Peace, by Walter Lowenfels. (Shortly after publication of this poem the author was arrested under the Smith Act. A number of copies of "American Voices" are being sold at $10 each, entire proceeds to be used for author's defense). 10c a copy, $5 per 100. Whittier Press, Box 5405, Kingsessing Sta., Philadelphia, Pa.

Atomic energy

(Continued from Page 1)

Space gives them time to send up the planes and rockets, to seek shelter, to turn off lights and radio stations—to try not just once, but again and again, to bring down the bomber as it flies overhead.

Not so Britain, France, W. Germany and Japan. They cannot defend themselves with space or time. They are crowded with targets and are tightly-knit economically. Against these states it seems probable that today an attack in force with atom and hydrogen will prove decisive. These countries cannot defend themselves against air attack.

A sober military analysis leads to the conclusion that almost no political reasons could convince responsible leaders of a state like Britain or Japan or France to engage in a war where atomic weapons could be used today. Their strategy must be neutrality.

STRATEGY OF OFFENSE: Make no mistake: even the biggest countries would suffer terribly under full-scale atomic attack. But the difference between the grandiose plans of the bomber command and their performance against modern interception and detection over big distances seems enough to reduce the impact from a decision to a mere brutal onslaught.

The SAC's strategy is a strategy of offense. It is founded by its own claims not on saving American cities, but in retaliating for their destruction. Its targets are the homes and lives of the civilian population. Pin-point bombing with atomic bombs is cant, as indeed it almost always was with plain TNT.

The commanding general of SAC, tough Curtis LeMay, learned his ruthlessness against the almost undefended and quite inflammable cities of Japan. It is a poor analogy. He flew his planes from nearly unpeopled island bases across empty seas to an enemy weakened mortally by blockade and without a chance to retaliate in any way.

ONE TERRIBLE FACT: In Germany, when about one-third of all the homes of the city-dwellers were destroyed from the air, war production continued to rise! The terrible fact is that strategic bombers finally hurl their weapons against the civil population, the biggest target. But the war machine of the enemy continues its strength by grasping for itself more of the remaining production effort as long as the state remains in power.

The SAC's is a strategy of contempt. It says that the people will break somehow. But in a big country, especially if the matter is not one-sided, there is room for grave doubt.

The SAC has a hair-trigger strategy as well. LeMay says he is instantly ready for war. In the summer of 1951, far inland in N. Louisiana, even the cooks at one of his bases carried rifles and ammunition slung over their chef's smocks! (**Life**). Hair-trigger readiness may be part of such a job; but it plainly does not fit a man of that kind for any claim to sober or responsible strategic leadership.

THE DANGER: The feverish rate of building bases, buying planes, expanding the SAC—all this is part of the picture. A force built for offensive strategy is the military counterpart of a political decision for preventive atomic war. That is why the SAC is dangerous, why its leaders are poor advisers on military policy, why its political power must be opposed. (It has a few firm friends in Congress, like Rep. Yorty [R-Calif.] from an airplane-building district, and Sen. Symington [D-Mo.] ex-Secy. of Air, and many more powerful sympathizers).

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That is why it may one day seek public allies among the most reactionary figures in American public life. Open alliance in Washington between men like McCarthy and leaders of the SAC, dominant group in the Air Force, will be a sign of real danger.

THE GREAT FIGHT: This battle has already been joined. Like most great issues in the current administration, the decision has not yet been made. But for a couple of years, the SAC and its friends have fought against a slowly-growing realization in Washington of the facts of military life today.

In **Fortune** (5/53) a strong attack was launched against scientific advisers who have repeatedly pointed out the fallacy of the SAC ideas of war—who have sought, so **Fortune** says, to "return the battle to the battlefield" by foreswearing the use of long-range bombers against cities. They have called for greater expenditure of U. S. defense money for defense, not for offense, even when it is called retaliatory. They see the present offensive balance of the U. S. armed forces, largely through the inflation of SAC, as "not so much a shield as a goad."

These are technical judgments. But they confirm, as strategy always does, the changing political temper of the era. Progressives can and must learn to understand and use these facts. They interact in a deep way with the opinions and actions of the people among whom politically aware citizens can alone exert their influence.

THE PROSPECT: What can we expect and seek? A gradual reorientation of American policy would seem to be in order—less offense and more defense. This would not hold promise for the long-run, but would be a stepping-stone to sanity.

There is a real solution: negotiations on the critical issues of our time, with the great powers agreeing to rid themselves, step by step, of the weapons of mass destruction. Such an agreement need be based not on human sanity but on a good hard look at the military facts.

British correspondent Philip Deane, in a book published after his release from a N. Korean prison camp, wrote of a drive from Pyongyang to the Manchurian border in April, 1953. All road bridges were functioning perfectly; trains were going; he counted 1,000 trucks southbound in one night. He wrote:

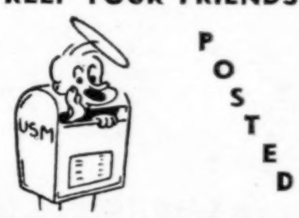
"The communications," a N. Korean colonel told me, "are working as they have never worked before." . . . And along the road, on both sides, every town, every village was completely destroyed. Somehow it did not make sense.

That is the U. S. Air Force. It does not make sense. It is cruelly inhuman. It will not work.

Can we have peace?

The best example of original enterprise by a local peace group that the **GUARDIAN** has seen in a long time is a 25c (20 for $4) pamphlet, cheaply produced but easy to read, relating the positive problems of a peace economy to the labor picture as it now is in the State (of Connecticut.) It is called **Can We Have Peace & Prosperity?** and published by the Conn. Peace Council, PO Box 145, Bridgeport, Conn. Peace groups are urged to get a copy and consider doing this job for their own State.

KEEP YOUR FRIENDS



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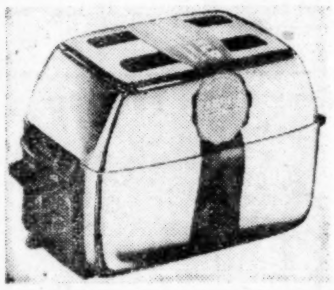

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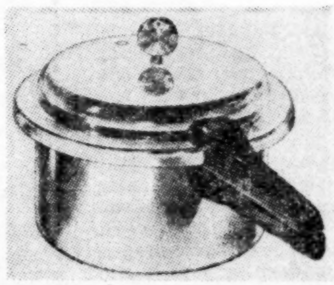

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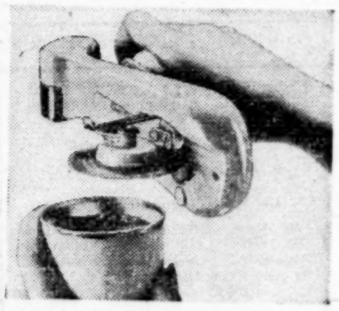

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1	$0.15	$0.17	$0.17	$0.19	$0.21	$0.23	$0.25	$0.27
2	.17	.20	.21	.24	.28	.33	.37	.41
3	.18	.22	.24	.29	.35	.42	.48	.55
4	.19	.25	.28	.34	.42	.51	.60	.69
5	.20	.27	.31	.38	.45	.60	.71	.83
6	.22	.29	.35	.43	.55	.70	.83	.97
7	.23	.32	.38	.48	.62	.79	.94	1.11
8	.24	.34	.42	.53	.69	.88	1.06	1.25
9	.25	.37	.45	.57	.75	.97	1.17	1.39
10	.27	.39	.49	.62	.82	1.07	1.29	1.53
11	.28	.41	.52	.67	.89	1.16	1.40	1.67
12	.29	.44	.56	.72	.96	1.25	1.52	1.81
13	.30	.46	.59	.76	1.02	1.34	1.63	1.95
14	.32	.49	.63	.81	1.09	1.44	1.75	2.09
15	.33	.51	.66	.86	1.16	1.53	1.86	2.23
16	.34	.53	.70	.91	1.23	1.62	1.98	2.37
17	.35	.56	.73	.95	1.29	1.71	2.09	2.51
18	.37	.58	.77	1.00	1.36	1.81	2.21	2.65
19	.38	.61	.80	1.05	1.43	1.90	2.32	2.79
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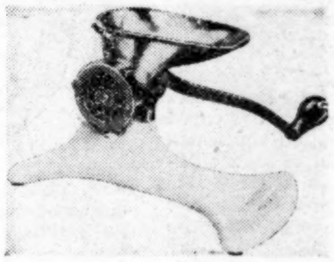

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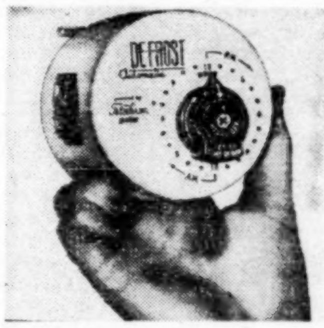

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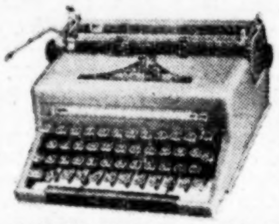

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List Price $13.95 Guard. Price $10.95

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Additional "open stock" pieces, i.e., sugar bowls, creamers, etc., are available on request at similar savings.

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